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The Community of Academics for Peace in Germany

How Frames and Identities Shape the Development of a Transnational Social Movement

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The Community of Academics for Peace in Germany

How Frames and Identities Shape the Development of a Transnational Social Movement

ANNE BERGER

Im Januar 2016 sorgt die umstrittene Petition der Gruppe „Academics for Peace" in der Türkei für die Entlassung vieler kritischer Intellektueller. Einige Unterzeichner*innen finden Jobs in Deutschland und organisieren sich neu als „Academics for Peace Germany". Diese Arbeit bezieht sich auf Theorien der Sozialen Bewegungen und fragt nach individuellen Narrativen und Zugehörigkeitskonstruktionen zu einer neuen transnationalen Gemeinschaft. Die Autorin untersucht die Entstehung transnationaler sozialer Bewegungen durch Prozesse und Verhandlungen kollektiver Identitätsbildung und Framing. Sie schlägt drei Komponenten vor, die "Academics for Peace Germany" (AFP-Germany) im Sinne einer transnationalen sozialen Bewegung nutzt: Kollektive Aktionen, die Wahrnehmung und Konstruktion verschiedener kollektiver Identitäten, und die Herausbildung eines transnationalen politischen Netzwerks. Die Analyse ergibt, dass der interaktive Prozess der Aushandlung von Bedeutungen und kollektiven Identitäten auf verschiedenen Ebenen innerhalb der Gemeinschaft stattfindet. Der Fall der AFP-Germany unterstützt die Annahme, dass „Konflikte" Schlüsselelemente für Zugehörigkeitskonstruktionen zu einer Gemeinschaft darstellen. Der Charakter der Bewegung wird geprägt durch sich widersprechende „Framings" für die gemeinsamen Themen einer Bewegung, die (politische) Ausbeutung von unterschiedlichen Seiten, sowie interner Streit über Repräsentation und Vertretung.

Stichworte: Social Movement-Theorie, Türkei, Kollektive Identitäten, Transnationale soziale Bewegungen, Framing-Theorie

In January 2016, a disputed petition by the group "Academics for Peace" in Turkey provoked the mass dismissal and criminalization of Turkey's intellectuals. Many targeted academics have resettled in Germany and reorganized under the umbrella of "Academics for Peace Germany". Embedded in social movement theory, this research is concerned with individual signatories' narratives and perceptions of belonging to a newly emerging transnational community. This paper studies the making of transnational social movements through processes of negotiating collective identities and framing. It proposes that "Academics for Peace" acts as a transnational social movement through the interplay of three elements: collective action; perceptions and constructions of different (sometimes overlapping or contradicting) collective identities; and as the establishment of an (informal and formal) transnational political network. The analysis shows that the interactive process of negotiating meaning, and collective identities takes place on many different levels of the community. The case of AFP-Germany supports the claim that conflict is a key driver in creating narratives and perceptions of belonging to a community. Conflicting framings of the movement's common cause, the (political) exploitation from different sides as well as internal disputes over representation and advocacy have shaped the character of the community.

Keywords: Social Movement Theory, Turkey, Collective Identities, Transnational Social Movements, Framing Theory

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List of Abbreviations

AFP	Academics for Peace (Basış için Akademisyenler)
AFP-Germany	Academics for Peace Germany
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (tr: Justice and Development Party)
BAK	Barış için Akademisyenler (tr: Academics for Peace)
BAK-Almanya	Barış için Akademisyenler Almanya (tr: Academics for Peace Germany)
EU	European Union
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OFF	Organisation für den Frieden e.V.
PKK	Partiya Karkerēn Kurdistanē (kur: Kurdistan Workers‘ Party)
SMO	Social Movement Organization
YÖK	Yükseköğretim Kurulu (tr: Council for Higher Education)

1. Introduction

"So now, at the end of a year we can say that we have the committees, we are founding this association. Today we signed the papers and at the end of August we will have the "Verein der Akademiker_innen für den Frieden". (F. Yıldız 24.7.2017)

During our interview in a coffee shop in Berlin Neukölln, F. Yıldız[1] had smoked several cigarettes. His alert eyes twinkle through his glasses as he tells me about his involvement with the Turkish initiative[2] "Academics for Peace" (AFP) and his experience as an "Exile-Academic" in Germany. He seems confident talking about the past and the obstacles he overcame, but more hesitant to talk about the future.

Yıldız is one of 1128 signatories to the petition "We will not be party to this crime"[3] declared on 11 January 2016 in Istanbul by the initiative of AFP. The open letter called on the government to end human rights violations against civilians in the Kurdish provinces of Turkey and revive the peace process. The petition was met with an immediate reaction by Turkey's President Erdoğan, criminalizing the scholars from 89 Turkish universities and initiating a public stigmatization campaign.[4]

Like many of his colleagues, Yıldız fled Turkey during a wave of purges following the failed coup in July 2016. In Germany, they found the most supportive environment to continue their academic work and activism. Supported by numerous campaigns in solidarity with the petitioners, German institutions created various scholarships, fellowships, and other academic positions.

Today, Germany is home to the largest community of AFP outside Turkey. They hold regular meetings, established an international network of AFP supporters and activists and their expertise is recognized in German and international media. Therefore, the group "AFP-Germany" serves as a good case study for the development of the AFP into a transnational social movement.

My research on the community of "Academics for Peace" in Germany between July and August 2017 coincided with the foundation of AFP's first official association.

1 To assure the anonymity of the interviewees, original names and gender of the participants in this research have been changed and replaced by fictive names.

2 Throughout the paper, the terms "initiative", "movement", "group", "collective" and "community" are used as synonyms to describe "Academics for peace" (AFP) or "Academics for Peace – Germany" (AFP-Germany) as a set of different social actors. In the interview citations, some respondents will use the Turkish terms "Barış için Akademisyenler" (BAK) or "BAK-Almanya".

3 The original title in Turkish reads: "Bu Suça Ortak Olmayacağız"

4 The fierce attack on the academics was especially surprising as no other petition by AFP, advocating for rights and justice for the Kurds, had ever received a lot of attention (see Chapter 4.1.2)

After hardly one year of settling, working and organizing in Germany, the petitioners have claimed their place in German institutional structures, academia and civil society. In my view, this is an outstanding opportunity to observe the evolution of ideas on negotiating collective identities and the common cause of the community.

In this thesis, I focus on individual signatories' narratives and perceptions of belonging, particularly those who became part of AFP-Germany. Taking the formation of AFP-Germany as a case study, I am interested in studying how creating a collective identity and framing the common cause can explain the emergence and persistence of a social movement. The overarching question of my research is how the particular development of AFP-Germany gives rise to AFP as a transnational social movement.

Adopting Melucci's network-approach to social movements, my assessment of the community will take an actor-centered perspective. Not taking collective identity as a given, Melucci (1995) suggests studying collective identity formation as a tool to analyze the "connection between the apparent unity […] and the underlying multiplicity" of a social group (p. 54). As recognized by many social movement scholars, the constant process of renegotiating a shared collective identity is crucial to understanding how social movements develop (see a.o. Flesher Fominaya 2010; Hunt, Benford 2008; Diani, McAdam 2003; Snow 2001; Pollettta, Jasper 2001; Melucci 1995). Moreover, as I demonstrate in this thesis, in the case of AFP-Germany, we have to consider multiple, sometimes overlapping collective identities, created through collective action, internal solidarity, and boundary work.

In addition to internal processes of negotiating different collective identities, external actors (e.g. audiences or opponents) and structures (e.g. socio-political or geographical context) influence the process of constructing the "we". In this thesis, the interactive negotiation of potentially contradictory interests will be assessed with the help of the concept of framing. I will argue that conflicts over framing the common cause of a social movement do not necessarily hinder its development. In the case of AFP, conflicting frames were constructed by the Turkish government and media, on the one hand, and by international solidarity networks and Western European governments on the other hand. These multiple challenges to the integrity of AFP and AFP-Germany create an opportunity to renegotiate collective identities of the movement and to reinforce individual narratives and perceptions of belonging.

The events around the formation of AFP correspond to common patterns in the growth of social movements which are established along lines of conflict, solidarity and commitment (see Snow et al. 2008). Founding an association in Germany completes this picture: AFP-Germany organizes collective action as a social movement organization. However, while some of my informants clearly defined AFP as a social movement, others refrain from pigeonholing the complex set of actors and their relations to each other. They try to avoid describing Academics for Peace as anything static, definite and self-contained. Underlining the differences of the signatories' motivations, personal, academic, and political backgrounds, they hesitate to claim a shared collective identity for the group, thus denying the validity of AFP as a social movement. The multiplicity of perceptions within the community, coupled with the highly contested and politicized subject at hand, offer an exceptionally complex, but very attractive case to study the development of a contemporary social movement. This paper does not endeavor to fully cover the movement's formation, but hopes to contribute interesting findings on processes of identification and representation in such a diverse collective.

Academics leaving Turkey to start a new life in Germany in the aftermath of the attempted coup did not arrive on neutral ground. The Turkish/Kurdish community in Germany, now well into its third generation, has established a dense network of social, cultural, religious and political organizations in Germany. How do the newcomers fit into this established community? There is little research specifically dedicated to the diversity and complexity of transnational political actors working at the intersection between Germany and Turkey (see a.o. Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003b). The case study of AFP-Germany may provide a valuable contribution to understanding the potential of the transnational political practices of Kurdish or Turkish organizations in Germany.

The following chapters will discuss the two central questions: 1) How has the development of AFP-Germany given rise to AFP as a transnational social movement? 2) How do the actors renegotiate collective identities and belonging? After laying the base for theoretical discussions of social movement theory, Chapter Two provides an introduction to the concepts of framing and collective identity. The theoretical framework guided the development of the research methodology presented in Chapter Three. To assess individual narratives and perceptions of belonging, I conducted semi-structured narrative interviews with Turkish signatories living in Germany, developed a coding scheme, and conducted a qualitative content analysis of the interview transcripts (Mayring 2000). Chapter

Four sketches the socio-political context and development of Academics for Peace and AFP-Germany. It then analyses and discusses the interview material assessing collective identities and narratives of belonging (4.2), as well as challenges of framing and representation (4.3). A concluding chapter summarizes the results and places them in the broader socio-political context.

This thesis proposes that the multiple conflicts around defining the cause and collective identity of AFP have opened an opportunity to create something new, elevating the petition's initial subject from the local to a global stage and contributing to the formation of a transnational political network. Reclaiming ownership of the AFP-community, AFP-Germany contributed to the development of the structure and character of the newly emerging transnational social movement. While adopting to their new political and institutional context, Academics for Peace were able to respond to the changing situation of its audiences and become an active agent in the struggle for peace and justice. This makes the community of AFP-Germany a valuable case-study of a social movement organization within a transnational network.

2. Theoretical Framework

What motivates academics from different backgrounds to come together as Academics for Peace? How does signing a petition and sharing the consequences of this political act, including migration to Germany, become a defining experience for a political group and its members' personal lives? What can we learn from AFP's development from a loose network to a transnational social movement?

These are fundamental questions to analyze the community of AFP in Germany and its first registered association "Akademiker_innen für den Frieden e.V.". In order to address the above questions, I draw on social movement studies' *framing approach* and *collective identity approach* as both focus on the active role of social movement participants as subjects of a community.

In this paper, collective identity is understood as an intra-movement phenomenon and a process of creating networks of active relationships (see Fominaya 2010: 397). Framing, in turn, refers to a process of constructing meaning. Through the constant renegotiation of their interpretative framework, activists generate *collective action frames*[5] to mobilize participants and supporters. As argued in the

5 Collective action frames are defined here as "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization" (Benford, Snow 2000: 614).

literature and demonstrated in the following chapters, framing activities are an important factor for creating collective identity. In order to study AFP from an actor-centered perspective, I will discuss the relationship between framing and collective identity approaches before applying this to the interviews conducted during the research.

This chapter introduces central theoretical concepts of social movement studies. Section 2.1 introduces common paradigms of social movement scholarship providing general concepts and definitions. Section 2.2 talks about the power of framing processes and the dynamics of framing contests. I argue that framing disputes influence the composition and formation of a group's collective identity. The contested role of collective identity in shaping social movements is discussed in section 2.3.

2.1 Social Movement Theory

Since the 1960s, social movement scholarship has gained recognition and made important theoretical contributions to the study of political participation, collective action, and mobilization. Scholars distinguish four main trends: the "Collective Behavior" perspective by Turner and Killian, "Resource Mobilization Theory" by McCarthy and Zald, the "Political Process" perspective by Tilly, and Touraine and Melucci' "New Social Movements" approach (Diani 1992).[6] Given the plurality of approaches to social movement analysis, there is no consensual definition of social movements in the literature.

In general, social movements are considered a specific form of collective action, understood as the joint action of two or more individuals pursuing common goals (see Snow et al. 2008: 6). In contrast to political parties and interest groups, collective movements challenge established structures using non-institutional means (see ibid.: 7). Most definitions agree on the criteria proposed by the Blackwell Companion to Social Movements:

1) collective or joint action,

2) change-oriented goals or claims,

3) some extra- or non-institutional collective action,

4) some degree of organization,

6 Most of the literature used to develop the relevant theoretical concepts of this paper is derived from scholars representing the New Social Movement approach (a.o. Melucci, Diani).

5) some degree of temporal continuity (see Snow et al. 2008: 6).

Diani (2003) proposes to conceptualize a social movement using three criteria: the engagement of actors in social conflict, the existence of a shared collective identity, and the exchange of practical and symbolic resources in dense informal networks (p. 301-305). Stressing the role of collective identity, Diani has defined social movements as "networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations [engaged in political or cultural conflict] on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Diani 1992: 13).

Della Porta and Diani (2006) show that the existence of social or political conflicts are inherent features of any social movement and contribute to the development of a collective identity[7] (p. 23). The social movement scholar Tarrow (1994) highlights the role of conflict in his definition of social movements as "collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities." (1994: 4). Identifying common grievances, problems or opponents, and framing a common cause is key to the development of any social movement.[8]

Besides the importance of collective identity formation, Della Porta and Diani (2006) highlight another relevant aspect, namely the network character of a social movement (p. 20). Conceptualizing a social movement as a network, or a "set of actors and the ties among them" (Wasserman, Faust 1994: 9), makes it possible to study the network's structures and their impact on the individual or the group, respectively. There may be different degrees of organization, hierarchy, and formality within one network. Each actor, no matter how powerful, organized or well-connected, is part of a permanent process of negotiation: coordinating, regulating, and defining strategies, activities, conduct, etc. In a social movement's informal network, people share resources to reach (contested and always renegotiated) common goals. However, no one should endeavor to represent the entire movement (see Della Porta, Diani 2006: 21).

The network perspective is useful for differentiating between social movements and social movement organizations (SMO). People acting within the network structures of a social movement may organize in diverse formations, including working groups, organizations, associations or other related social groups. McCarthy and

7 See Chapter 2.3 on collective identities

8 Framing processes will be further discussed in Chapter 2.2.

Zald (1977) first proposed to study SMOs separately from social movements, arguing that *social movements* entail a "set of opinions and beliefs" (p. 1217), while individual activists only form part of it as they affiliate with a *social movement organization*, namely "a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preference of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals" (McCarthy, Zald 1977: 1218).

Diani (2003) emphasizes the distinction proposed by McCarthy and Zald. He states that social movements consist of formally independent actors who are embedded in specific social or political contexts, share several identities, values, objectives and come together through different instances of cooperation and recognition (SMOs) (p. 301). Yet, he criticizes MCarthy and Zald for not paying enough attention to the relationship between different organizations (see ibid: 304-305). He defines SMO as "all those groups who identify themselves, and are identified by others, as part of the same movement, and exchange on that basis" (ibid.: 305). To study social movements, he suggests looking at how movement actors (individuals or organizations with different degrees of formal structure) relate to each other (see ibid.).

Diani's approach offers an adequate foundation to analyze the community of Academics for Peace in Germany. In their survey about what motivated signatories of the AFP-petition, Abbas and Zalta (2017) point to the community's heterogeneity: although many signatories shared some attitudes (e.g. pro-human rights, anti-racist or left-leaning), the supporters are heterogeneous in terms of their academic career and background, experience with collective action or their political and religious identity (p. 8-14). It is further plausible to assume that the signatories did not know their counterparts when signing the open letter. However, as Baser et al. (2017) describe, prior to the petition, many participating academics had been involved in established regional, transregional, and even transnational networks, including multi-layered relationships of collaboration, opposition, friendship, etc. (see Baser et al. 2017: 284-285). I expect this to apply to AFP-Germany members as well.

Conceptualizing social movements as networks of actors offers a way to address the community's heterogeneity and complexity. According to Melucci (1994), it is helpful to study collective identity formation in order to grapple with the "connection between the apparent unity and […] the underlying multiplicity". Therefore, this paper takes an actor-centered perspective focused on individual narratives and experiences with the process of constructing collective identity.

Following the three criteria proposed by Diani (2003), I will assess the development of AFP-Germany through secondary sources and narrative interviews conducted with signatories living in Germany when the registered association "Akademiker_innen für den Frieden e.V." was established. This will help evaluate to which extent the phenomenon is a constitutive part of a transnational[9] social movement.

2.2 The Power of Framing

2.2.1 The Construction of Meaning

The concept of framing is a common way for social scientists to approach the character of social movements (Benford, Snow 2000). The term "frame" or "framework" was first introduced by Goffman (1974) as "schemata of interpretation (…), [that] allows its users to locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms" (p. 21). Framing is a process of constructing meaning (see Snow at al. 1986: 464; Benford, Snow 2000: 614). New interpretative frames will challenge existing ones and renegotiate meanings. The contentious products of such negotiation processes are called collective action frames: "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization" (Benford, Snow 2000: 614). For example, the shared perception of a social conflict, such as the "massacres in the Kurdish regions of Turkey", lays the ground to reach out to potential supporters of the AFP-petition campaign. It implies a critical attitude towards the Turkish government. The collective action frame determines who participates. It mobilizes support and demobilizes antagonists (see Benford, Snow 2000: 614).[10]

While discussing framing processes from an actor-oriented perspective, the potential for intra-movement conflict becomes clear. Identifying culpable agents, protagonists or antagonists, problems and causes and the range of appropriate strategies and methods are all subject to framing and part of the construction of shared meaning. The emergence of conflicts over contested frames depends on the

9 In this thesis, the term "transnational" defines the border-crossing scope of an activity as initiated by non-governmental actors: organized groups, networks or individuals collaborating across national borders (see Vertovec 2003:). Rucht (1999) defines a transnational social movement as a movement of "closely interrelated groups and organizations that belong to more than one country" (p. 207). In migration studies, the concept of transnationalism is defined as "the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement (…), take actions, make decisions and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously" (Glick Schiller et al. 1994: 1-2). In this research, I will sharpen this understanding of transnationality discussing transnational political activities and their impact on the creation of collective identity (see Chapter 4.1.3).

10 Benford and Snow (2000) differentiate between three core framing tasks: diagnostic, prognostic and motivational. A detailed description of the action-oriented functions of collective action frames can be found on page 215 of the journal.

extent to which collective action frames are inclusive, open, flexible, and elaborated (see ibid.: 618).

Gamson and Meyer (1996) think of framing consensus as a "contentious internal process (…) with different actors taking different positions." More inclusive and flexible frames ('master frames'), manage to integrate those different positions. Those master algorithms can also be adopted by other movements (see Benford and Snow 2000: 617 et seq). For example, protest movements, known as "the Arab Uprisings", initiated in Tunesia. They were then continued and adopted by Egypt, Libya, Syria and took shape in Turkey through the Gezi uprisings. Master frames can affect the degree of mobilization if they suit the cultural and historical context (see ibid: 619).

'Resonance' refers to a collective action frame's ability to mobilize. According to Benford and Snow, there are two components to a frame's resonance: credibility and relative salience (see ibid.: 619-622). A frame is credible if there is 1) congruence between claims and actions of a SMO, 2) culturally believable evidence and, 3) a representative (so-called frame articulator) with perceived status and expertise. Benford and Snow state that the salience of a collective action frame depends on how its values and beliefs relate to factors of centrality, experiential commensurability and narrative fidelity. "Culture" plays a crucial role in defining what is salient. The authors consider the degree to which framings resonate with the personal lifeworld of those who are mobilized and represent issues from their everyday experience (experiential commensurability). Second, collective action frames should fit the target group's cultural narratives by displaying cultural resonance (narrative fidelity) (see Benford and Snow 2000: 622).

The role of culture in shaping framing processes has long been neglected in social movement studies (see ibid.). However, Benford and Snow (2000) conclude that a "cultural resource base" is central to creating innovative collective action frames and new lenses of interpretation (see ibid.: 629). Social movements, thus, reproduce existing cultural meaning, and, at the same time, transform it and create new meaning. While standing in a reciprocal relationship to cultural resonances, framing processes also reflect wider cultural continuities and changes (see ibid.).

After introducing collective action frames, I will now focus on processes and dynamics of framing. This will be helpful for understanding why the construction of meaning as an activity of SMOs is as contested as it is essential.

2.2.2 Framing Processes

Many scholars have devoted their work to exploring frame development, generation, and elaboration. Benford and Snow's (2000) comprehensive literature review on research related to framing dynamics and processes serves as a base for the following discussion. The authors differentiate between discursive, strategic, and contested processes of framing (see ibid.: 623-627).

The discursive process includes highlighting events and experiences by a) connecting them in a particularly compelling way to create something new and original (frame articulation) or b) selecting specific aspects that symbolize larger frames or movements, e.g. with the help of slogans (frame amplification) (see idib.: 623).

Here, strategic processes refer to deliberative, utilitarian, and target-oriented activities. SMOs employ different strategies to align their interests and interpretative frameworks with those of potential supporters (Benford, Snow 2000: 624). Snow et al. (1986) call those processes frame alignment processes, composed of frame bridging, amplification, extension, and transformation.

Frame bridging refers to the "linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames" of a problem (Snow et al. 1986: 467). Interpersonal and intergroup networks, public events, mass media (and nowadays social media) enable independent individuals to reach out to other like-minded people and diffuse information. Those tools of bridging, originally directed towards micro mobilization activities, can eventually be used for mass mobilization.

Frame amplification refers to the constant renegotiation of values and beliefs to mobilize support and secure participation. Snow et al. talk about value amplification in terms of how organizers identify, idealize or elevate one or more values relevant to the issue to generate more support. In contrast, belief amplification points to the adaptation and construction of shared beliefs on the urgency of the problem, antagonists and who is to blame, efficacy, necessity and responsibility. Through frame amplification, SMOs motivate participation, foster optimism about collective action and contribute to a common sense of moral obligation. As Benford and Snow (2000) highlight, many movements seek to amplify existing cultural and lifeworld-related beliefs and values (p. 624). Further, there is a threat of over-amplifying values and beliefs which have a negative effect on factors that ensure resonance (such as credibility, cultural resonance, relatedness to personal lifeworld, etc.).

Activists use *Frame Extension* to identify the values or interests of a potential group of supporters and gage their congruence with the scope of the SMO. These shifted, enlarged or novel frames are then integrated into movement objectives and activities. This frame alignment reminds us that people may join a social movement (and sustain their participation) due to different motivations.

Frame Transformation redefines activities, events, and biographies that are already meaningful in the context of a social movement. To generate participation, values must be added and old understandings transformed. Snow at al. (1986) differentiate between domain-specific interpretative frames and global interpretative frames. The former indicates that certain domains of life with a clear positive or negative attribute can be reframed to their opposite (e.g. child vaccination). The latter refers to the drastic enlargement of existing frames to produce more clarity and certainty in the overall goal of the activities (e.g. anti-globalization).

Frame alignment processes result from negotiation processes amongst different actors of an SMO. All actors that participate in this reality construction are confronted with a variety of challenges. As Benford and Snow (2000) have demonstrated, any framing process is contentious: frames are challenged by a) counterframing by e.g. the media, adherents or opponents, b) internal frame disputes, and c) the dialectic between events and frames (see ibid.: 625 et seq.). Attempts to redefine, undermine or neutralize interpretative frameworks of a person or a group that would publicly challenge the movement's framing are called counterframing activities. Counterframes often provoke reframing activities by the SMO leading to *framing contests*. Media framing plays an important role in those contests and its public resonance.[11]

Internal framing contests are called frame disputes. Internal disagreement about perceived problems and solutions shapes structures and dynamics of a movement. Frame disputes can both facilitate or impede further mobilization. Framings legitimize and channel collective activities and events. Collective action, in turn, further shapes how these frames are perceived. This dialectic between events and frames helps to restructure the discourse created during the framing process.

11 There is a large scope for media to be examined in the context of collective action frames. As shown by many scholars (a.o. Gamson, Meyer 1996: 285 et seq.; Zald 1996: 270), media access defines framing potential. The coverage of media houses often lies out of control for social movement activists. Media therefore represents the most efficient tool of counterframing. Due to restricted resources, this study unfortunately will not cover a proper media analysis and rather rely on secondary sources for evaluating the impact of media in framing processes.

Correspondingly, events have an impact on the legitimacy, credibility and resonance of the movement and further help to resignify which set of collective beliefs is salient (see Benford, Snow 2000: 627).

Reaching a consensus on shared definitions, meanings, and framings within the movement appears to be a crucial factor for mobilization and the establishment of a collective identity. Further, the contentious internal negotiation process of framing consensus also has a direct impact on the definition of political opportunity[12] (see Gamson, Meyer 1996: 283 et seq.). In the following section, I will discuss how framing processes mutually influence the context in which they take place.

2.2.3 Framing in Context

We saw how events and collective action have a feedback effect on existing framings as they contribute to their transformation and modification. Similarly, the dynamic relationship between audiences and frames affects the development of the framing process. Benford and Snow (2000) conclude that the so-called "audience effect" may have a stronger impact on the outcome of grass-roots protests than the level of social conflict or the degree of organization (p. 630). As discussed above, another important contextual factor is the personal lifeworld and the cultural context of the target group. Benford and Snow define cultural material as a „cultural tool-kit, […] an extant stock of meanings, beliefs, ideologies, practices, values, myths, narratives" through which framings are evaluated, interpreted and recreated (ibid.: 629). By becoming aware of one's opportunities and incorporating them into framing processes, activists can create new opportunities for collective action. As Gamson and Meyer (1996) conclude, "Opportunities open the way for political action, but movements also make opportunities." (p. 276).

From this perspective, one possible outcome of a social movement is the creation of political opportunity as a self-fulfilling prophecy (see ibid.: 287). In their article about framing political opportunity, Gamson and Meyer suggest that movement activists must promote a collective action frame while defining "people as potential agents of their own history" and making clear that the possibility to affect social change exists (ibid.: 285). Social movements thereby "act as agents that help to shape the political space in which they operate" (ibid: 289). Framing processes take

12 Political opportunity is defined by Gamson and Meyer (1996) as „sets of mutually sustaining schemas and resources that empower and constrain social action and tend to be reproduced by that social action" (p. 283).

place in and are influenced by a variety of contextual factors while also (re)producing those contexts.

The launch of the AFP petition marked a turning point in the public uproar against the Turkish state's conduct and increasing repressions (see Baser et al. 2017). As noted by several scholars and observers, the petition's focus on justice for Turkish Kurds was reframed by diverse actors and events. Those counterframes challenged the overall narrative or interpretative framework and generated contested collective action frames (among others see Evren & Yonucu 2016, Baser et al. 2017, Abbas & Zalta 2017, Özkirimli 2017). It seems plausible that the group of petitioners in Germany is part of those framing and reframing activities. Therefore, I consider dynamics of framing processes an important factor in the development of the AFP-Germany community. Framing activities and collective action frames offer points of identification for supporters and adherents as well as audiences and opponents. Framing constitutes a crucial part of the process of negotiating and forming a shared collective identity (see Diani 2003).

2.3 Collective Identities – The Contested Terrain of a Social Movement

Since the early 1990s, social movement scholars have considered collective identities constitutive elements of social movements, determining how activists mobilize support, sustain commitment and cohesion between the actors (see a.o. Della Porta, Diani 2006; Hunt, Benford 2004; Polletta, Jasper 2001; Snow, McAdam 2000; Melucci 1995). Despite its vast application, the concept lacks a consensual definition and remains notoriously abstract and vague (see Flesher Fominaya 2010). The motivation to study collective identities was based on a critique of the established rationalistic, structural, and goal-driven approaches like rational-choice (Olson 1965), resource mobilization (McCarthy, Zald 1977), and the political process model (Tarrow 1989). The collective identity approach aims to include social-psychological, cultural and emotional factors, which contribute to a better understanding of how social movements emerge and persist.

In a comprehensive review of debates on collective identity in social movements, Flesher Fominaya (2010) proposes to differentiate between collective identity as a process and collective identity as a product. The product-approach refers to something people outside the movement, (audiences, bystanders, opponents) perceive, interpret, and respond to. Collective identity represents shared goals, interests, and attitudes creating reference points for in- and outsiders. Thus, it becomes a common-good or "product" including identities, orientations, tactics,

frames, etc. that anyone can access. In contrast, the process-approach refers to a movement's internal dynamics such as the production of shared meaning, reciprocal emotional ties, and experiences when actors interact with each other (see Flesher Fominaya 2010: 397).

According to Flesher Fominaya, in addition to confusing "process" and "product", collective identity is often mixed with or misunderstood as personal identity (see ibid.). Promoting the product-approach, Snow (2001) distinguishes between personal, social and collective identities (p. 2213). Personal identities refer to identities attributed to oneself. Social identities, in turn, are those identities imputed by others designating them to specific social spaces, roles or groups (see ibid.: 2212-2213). The author further defines collective identity as "constituted by a shared and interactive sense of 'we-ness' and 'collective agency'" (Snow 2001: 2213). He considers this "sense of 'we-ness'" as the outcome of shared attributes and experiences created in contrast to an Other.

As an example of the process-approach, Melucci (1995) explores the dynamic process of creating collective identity through repeated interactions between actors. The constant negotiation process includes defining means, ends, and the field of action. It is enacted through a common language and a set of practices, rituals, and cultural artifacts (see ibid.: 44). This cognitive framework of social movement actors may comprise heterogeneous perspectives and contradictory definitions and is therefore always potentially subject to contestation and renegotiation. Melucci understands collective identity as a "network of active relationships" and underlines the importance of emotional involvement (see ibid.: 45). He attributes three characteristics to collective identity as a process of construction: "cognitive definitions concerning the ends, means, and field of action […], a network of active relationships between the actors […] (and) a certain degree of emotional investment." (ibid.:44-45). Adding to this, Polletta and Jasper (2001) suggest to define collective identity as an

"individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity." (Polletta, Jaspers 2001: 285).

Individuals (insiders and outsiders) distinguish the collective from the (imagined and constructed) "Other" on the basis of a shared collective identity. On the one

hand, collective identity reflects the relation of the social movement to the environment it is embedded in and, on the other hand, an awareness of opportunities and constraints arising from its field of action (see Melucci 1995: 47). It determines the framework for action in the field, regulates membership, and defines prerequisites for joining (see ibid.: 49). Just as in framing theory, conflict and contestation (rather than shared interest) function as the ground for the consolidation of group identity and solidarity.

Collective identity is constructed through social interaction within a social movement but is, at the same time, contested and interpreted by different audiences (bystanders, authorities, media, opponents). As Jaspers and Polletta (2001) argue, it may be constructed by outsiders and even enforced on a group (p. 285). Therefore, so-called boundary-work, the attempt to construct the insider's "We" against an outsider's "Other", forms an important part of legitimizing collective identity. It can be expressed in cultural materials such as rituals, symbols, names, narratives, linguistic styles, clothing, etc (see ibid.).

Balancing external openness with internal cohesion is a complex and risky task.[13] On the one hand, external opposition to the collectivity, its framings, cultural materials or identity may help to structure the group as a coherent and distinctive entity. On the other hand, as Flesher Fominaya (2010) demonstrates, boundary work may lead to fragmentation when differing understandings of collective identity are confronted (p. 398).[14] However, she argues that the process of collective identity formation (as defined by Melucci 1995) mostly takes place at a group level, where individuals experience "(inter)active relationships". Therefore, we should pose the question whether a movement's collective identity can exist despite strong collective identity at the level of local working groups or other social networks.

In response to this question, Flesher Fominaya argues that movements can and do generate collective identity across differences. Since networks are dynamic and their compositions fluid, individuals circulate through different social groups and organizations that may or may not be part of the social movement (see Flesher Fominaya 2010: 399-400). In that way, a collective identity formed within a social

13 For a comprehensive juxtaposition of the impact, benefits, and risks of collective identity see McGarry and Jasper 2015: 1-17.

14 For a detailed account on different approaches to boundary work in social movements see Flesher Fominaya 2010: 394-398.

movement may persist even when the movement dissolves or becomes inactive and can constitute a repertoire for future mobilizations (see ibid.: 401).[15]

Acknowledging the potential of collective identity as part of a so-called "protest-repertoire", Jasper and Polletta (2001) demonstrate that the formation process of collective identity is closely related to collective action frames, as well as the character, objectives and strategies of the movement. Since a social movement promotes new identities to obtain power, it will always transform itself (Jasper, Polletta 2001: 299). As shown in Chapter 2.2, the production of framing and collective identity mutually affects the development of a movement's social and political context. Structural constraints (e.g. Turkey) or a favorable institutional setting (e.g. Germany) influence the development of the social movement and the formation of collective identity.

Based on an understanding of collective identity as constructed through every-day interactions between movement actors, scholars started to explore the role of emotions and their role in building solidarity and commitment (see a.o. Jasper 2011; 2014; Hunt, Benford 2004). Hunt and Benford's (2004) comprehensive review of emotions and affective ties among movement actors suggests that "collective identities facilitate commitment by enhancing the bonding to leadership, belief systems, organizations, rituals, cohorts, networks and localities" (p. 448). They also acknowledge that enduring commitment depends on an individual's emotional connection to his/her social networks within the movement. In other words, emotional involvement refers to the symbolic linkage of personal identity to the collective identity.

The authors conclude that solidarity represents the degree of social cohesion within and between groups (see ibid.: 450). Melucci (1995) emphasizes the role of solidarity to satisfy the "need for identity" (p. 49). He states that solidarity "enables [individuals] to affirm themselves as subjects of their actions and to withstand the breakdown of social relations induced by conflict." (Melucci 1995: 48-49). Thus, internal solidarity in relation to conflict and external opposition influence the creation of collective identities.

To analyze how the community of AFP-Germany developed, it is helpful to apply the processual perspective on constructing collective identity along with a focus on

15 Flesher Fominaya challenges the thesis of McDonald (2002) who highlights the fluid and temporal character of social movements and networks. McDonald states that participation in social movements should be understood as a „public expression of self" in a time where practices of individualization don't fit into paradigms of collective identity and solidarity (p. 125).

solidarity and commitment. The petitioners decided to leave Turkey and move to Germany after they experienced state repression, public defamation, and social pressure. After Erdoğan's comments[16] on the petition and the beginning of a media defamation campaign, more than 1000 signatures were added and numerous solidarity campaigns launched[17]. We can clearly see conflict and external opposition as an integral part of the development of AFP. To understand how members of AFP-Germany create and negotiate different collective identities, I will investigate the lines of conflict, the political and social context of Turkish society and the development of the AFP-issue (see Chapter 4.1). The analysis of AFP-Germany's development and registration as an association will assess how the new structural, institutional and political context in Germany have influenced the negotiation process of collective identities of the group.

With regard to the diverse backgrounds and motives of AFP-Germany's members, it is impossible to talk of one particular collective identity created and recreated by the group. Multiple, sometimes overlapping and conflicting collective identities constitute a heterogeneous and complex community. Together, those identities form the cultural repertoire of the collective and can be used and combined according to changing contexts and fields of action. Following Melucci, I will study collective identities as a tool to "explain [the] connection between the apparent unity and […] the underlying multiplicity" (Melucci 1994: 54).

The theoretical concepts discussed in this section will guide the analysis of AFP-Germany as a social movement, drawing on semi-structured narrative interviews, data collection and the coding scheme. In the following chapter, I will discuss the research's methodology and my analytical framework for data analysis.

3. Methodology

This paper seeks to explore how the development of AFP-Germany gave rise to AFP as a transnational social movement. In addressing this question, I will concentrate on how the actors construct collective identities and belonging to the community. To reach a better understanding of the formation process and the role of creating collective identities the analysis takes an actor-centered perspective and focusses on individual narratives and perceptions.

16 For a summary of the speech of Turkey's President Erdoğan on January 12, 2016 see http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/171012-erdogan-dan-akademisyenlere-ey-aydin-musveddeleri, last checked on 17.09.2017.

17 For the largest collection of news and petitions in support of the "Academics for Peace" initiative in Turkey see https://internationalsolidarity4academic.tumblr.com, last checked on 17.09.2017.

A review of selected media and academic reports about the incidents around the AFP petition, will situate the personal stories within their broader social, historical and political context. I will use a qualitative research design to explore empirically grounded concepts18 and to evaluate how social movement theory can be applied to understand the complex picture of transnational political organizations like AFP-Germany.

Qualitative research provides the opportunity to study complex social structures in detail. According to Hopf (2012), qualitative interviews provide access to subjective interpretations of motives and situations that influence the actors' actions (p. 350). In social sciences, the qualitative researcher reconstructs meaning from subjective statements of individuals and uses interpretative approaches to study an empirical case. Hence, the scholar becomes aware of specific structures, dynamics and multi-layered processes of meaning construction and generate understanding for it. Therefore, qualitative research is particularly useful for exploratory research.

This study was not designed to arrive at representative statements about the character and development of AFP-Germany as a whole. Rather, I explore patterns and narratives of collective identities and major trends in the development of the movement. In order to understand and discuss those development processes, I will relate the results of this empirical study to the broader socio-political context.

3.1 Sampling

Among other reasons, I chose to study Academics for Peace, because I had some personal contacts to people involved in Ankara. They were helpful in gathering information on possible challenges and opportunities during the research, and also functioned as gate-keepers to the broader network of AFP. I first circulated a call-for-participation through the official AFP-Germany mailing list.[19] However, I ended up reaching all of my informants through personal contacts and recommendation. The snowball method proved the most reliable way to get to know activists. It also helped me get in touch with several key figures with better knowledge about the structures and development of the community in Germany.

18 Concepts as the „building blocks of theories" are derived from the empirical material (Shoemaker et al. 2004: 15). They represent abstractions of aspects of the empirically studied phenomenon. Thereby, they enable the reader to compare and relate particular findings of an empirical case study to the broader set of theories and to other research findings.

19 The mailing list „BAK-Almanya" was established on 24 February 2016 and had 206 members on 11 August 2017 (see interview with I. Schütze, 11.8.2017).

The criteria for choosing my interview partners included: any person that had signed the 11 January 2016 AFP-petition and migrated to Germany at some point after the petition's publication. Between 7 July and 16 August 2017, I interviewed ten people (five male, five female) between the age of 32 and 46. All interviewees were members of the AFP-Germany mailing-list and living in Germany at the time of the interview.[20] Two of the ten informants had been PhD candidates in Turkey, seven had held professorships at a governmental (four) or private (three) university in Turkey. One person had worked as a freelance researcher in Germany. Seven out of ten are social or political scientists. This ratio mirrors the proportion found by Abbas and Zalta (2017: 7). All nine Turkish interviewees were on a scholarship: the longest scholarship was provided by the Phillip Schwartz Scholarship for two years (one academic) and the shortest by Centre Marc Bloc for two months (one academic).

3.2 Interview Strategy

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

I collected personal narratives or accounts from members of the community as well as information about specific aspects of collective action, framing and identification practices. This helped approaching individual perspectives of belonging to the community. Therefore, I chose a mix of semi-structured and narrative interviews.

The term „narrative interview" has been redefined many times. In current research practice, its meaning is extended and sometimes referred to as semi-structured interviews with biographical elements (see Hopf 2012: 355). However, as initially developed by Schütz (1977), the concept implies soliciting a continuous narrative by the informant without direction or influence through the researcher (besides the introductory question). Following this approach, I kept my questions as open as possible, remaining flexible to the informant's direction of narration. In this way, I tried to overcome one common restraint of semi-structured interviews and give each person room to express his/her beliefs and values autonomously.[21]

Qualitative interviews are strongly influenced by the role of the researcher. This needs to be considered critically when evaluating the data. Not only the

20 One of them, I. Schütze, didn't fulfill the selection criteria as this person was a German citizen and signed the petition while holding an academic position in Germany. Because of her long-term affiliation to the community, I still considered it valuable to include the interview in the analysis.

21 As Peters (2014) demonstrates, semi-structured interviews risk to impose the researcher's beliefs and values (here 'relevance system') on the interview situation. This prevents the researcher from fully comprehending the interviewee's definition of social reality (p: 8-9). However, as I will discuss in section 3.4, there are other factors, related to the researcher's role in the field, disturbing the reconstruction of meaning in qualitative interview situations.

researcher's relevance system (made up by ideas, interests, and previous knowledge) but also his/her epistemological and ontological position and socio-cultural background have an impact on the interview situation, its progress and, thus, on the collected data.[22]

3.2.2 Interview Guide

I based my research on the notion of narrative interviews and inductively developed theme blocks to structure my interviews. When listening to my interview partners' narratives, I made sure that each theme was covered. If necessary, I followed up or clarified with additional questions. The respondents were encouraged to comment freely and openly to my general questions about each theme in turn.

The interview guide's themes were generated after reviewing media and academic reports, as well as talking to AFP-members, gate-keepers and informants. After multiple revisions, the first interview I conducted on 7 July 2017 served as a pretest and inspiration for the structure and analysis of the following nine interviews. I generated the following interview guide comprising four themes:

Involvement with AFP: activities (e.g. signing the petition), personal network and relations, role within the group, etc.

Political Activity: understanding of political activity, development of personal political attitude, activities within the group, self-perception as an activist

Character of the Community of AFP in Germany: insider's perspective, group dynamics, composition of the group, projects and activities, future perspectives

Resonance and Network: involvement in local politics and socio-cultural activities, network building with other civil society initiatives, positioning of AFP-Germany within the civil society landscape in Germany

3.2.3 Interview Setting

I recorded the interviews during face-to-face meetings or via Skype video calls. In order to find a balance between not interrupting the narratives' flow and covering all themes, interviews lasted 57 minutes on average, ranging from 39 to 75 minutes. Eight interviews were held in English, two in German.[23] I acknowledge that

22 I was born, raised and educated in Germany. During the time of the reelection of the AKP into the government in summer 2015 until the failed coup-attempt in July 2016, I lived and studied in Ankara. During my time in Turkey, I took part in several discussions about social and political changes in the country before and after the declaration of the petition. Some contacts of mine signed the petition and had to deal with different consequences. I consider myself an outsider to the group.

23 There were practical reasons for choosing English instead of the respondent's native language Turkish: my insufficient command of Turkish, lack of economic resources, and the fact that the paper and analysis were to be produced in English. The interviewees' working language in Germany was English. However, their command of English varied.

the decision to conduct interviews in English had an impact on clarity, intuitive speech flow, and the articulation of emotions, among others.

As some of the informants have pending court cases in Turkey, it was important to anonymize the data. The anonymity of all participants in this study was secured by changing names, gender and other key biographical information. Thanks to those precautions, direct recommendations by contacts and common acquaintances (gate-keepers) I was able to create a trusting relationship with my interview partners. I further made sure to meet in a familiar environment and locations connected to the informants' everyday life (cafes, bars, public libraries, etc.).[24]

3.3 Method of Analysis

After transcribing the recordings of ten semi-structured, narrative interviews, I analyzed the collected material using qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2000). Following Mayring's approach to inductive category development (see ibid.: Fig. 1: Step model of inductive category development), the texts were first structured according to the rough criteria or definitions based on the theory and research question. Those codes were then revised, reduced, and further specified within a feedback-loop of rereading and recoding. Borrowing from Grounded Theory (Glaser, Strauss 1967), I openly explored and included new categories, keywords and recurrent patterns. This allowed me to generate codes that were not initially part of the interview guide, but characterized the narratives of the interviewees. Additionally, the software MaxQDA was particularly helpful for revising, rearranging, and regrouping codes while keeping track of changes and the growing amount of data. In total, I applied six codes with two to twelve different subcodes (see Coding Scheme in Appendix). Through the development of the coding scheme, I could compare and analyze the respondents' ideas, beliefs and perceptions and explore recurrent patterns of meaning construction.

4. Analysis

4.1 Setting up the Frame of the Study

„The content of the petition really touched the reality somehow. It really underlined what's going on in the region. (…) It was calling for the conscience and reason of the public. I think this is what made the AKP and Erdoğan so angry about it.

24 In their book on qualitative research, Lamnek and Krell (2010) provide a comprehensive guideline on methodological aspects of qualitative interviews. Among other aspects, they highlight the processual character, the everyday setting of the interview, the principle of openness, flexibility, and the relevance system of the respondent (p. 346-352).

Nothing was new about it actually. (…) The issue is: saying these kind of things is part of your right to free speech and academic rights and this is undeniable part of being a citizen of Turkey and a member of academia." (B. Kaya 16.07.2017)

The following chapters will set the research subject within the broader socio-political context of the developments in Turkey and their relation to Germany and the European Union (EU). By providing background information about the context of the AFP-petition, I will lay the ground for a comprehensive discussion of the development of AFP and its transnational political network (see Chapter 4.1.3). This framework will be important for the discussion of different dynamics and their respective impact on the development process of AFP-Germany into a transnational social movement organization.

4.1.1 Socio-political Context: Entering a New Phase of Authoritarianism in Turkey?

The prosecution and repression against signatories of the AFP petition is often referred to as a symptom of growing authoritarianism in Turkey under the rule of the AKP[25] and President Erdoğan (see a.o. Abbas, Zalta 2017; Baser et al. 2017; Esen, Gümüşçü 2016). Some argue that the petition also marked a turning point of public discontent leading into a new area of political conflict in the country[26] (see Baser et al. 2017: 275).

After its foundation in 2001, the AKP gained popularity through a promising agenda. When the party came to power in 2002, they implemented a reform agenda aiming at economic growth, cultural integration, and political stability. National and international democratic forces (most notably the EU) and civil society groups complimented their reforms. They considered the empowerment of the disenfranchised minorities (mostly Kurdish and Islamic groups), the peace process with the Kurdish insurgency, limitations of the power of veto-players (like the military), and other measures as important steps towards rapid democratization.

However, instead of the expected turn to democratic consolidation, the AKP used its electoral strength to dominate and block the political landscape in Turkey. As Esen and Gümüşçü (2016) demonstrate, over a period of thirteen years, the AKP has established a political system of competitive authoritarianism.[27] Within the last

25 Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, tr: Justice and Development Party

26 This argument is further supported looking at the official crackdown in the night of the attempted coup on 15 July 2016.

27 The authors show that Turkey's political system doesn't fulfill the requirements of democracy and rather suits each of the criteria of competitive authoritarianism: unfair elections, violation of civil liberties, uneven playing field (see Ersen, Gümüşçü 2016:1585-1594).

decade, more and more power was accumulated in the hands of President Erdoğan. Hence, the AKP could exploit state apparatuses, control legislative and judicial domains and establish power over civil society and the media (see Baser et al. 2017: 277). The Gezi Protests in 2013, characterized by extensive and brutal reactions by the riot police, were an important turning point of public outrage about the illiberal political developments (see a.o. Yıldırım 2014). Since then, state repression and systematic harassment against dissent were taken on a new level. Within the last years, the AKP government passed several law packages further restraining organized political activities in the country (see Öney 2015). Hundreds of activists, journalists, politicians, academics, and others have been detained for engaging in oppositional activities (see Baser et al. 2017: 277).

While promoting reforms towards cultural integration of the Kurdish population and other minorities[28] and holding accession talks with the EU, the AKP expanded its hegemonic position. The failure of the peace process became obvious long before but was official with the June 2015 elections[29]. The AKP lost its absolute majority of votes and rescheduled new elections for November 2015. As they sharpened their nationalistic discourse and violence resumed between both sides (PKK[30] and Turkish state), attacks and several high-profile bombings in Ankara and Istanbul took place.[31] The consequent declaration of a state of emergency in certain parts of Turkey further led to an excessive use of violence, mass displacement, and many civilian casualties. The death toll of members of security forces and residents kept rising to 2000 people (OHCHR 2017: 2). In the context of so-called 'security operations', international observers reported massive human rights violations. The situation was especially critical regarding the strict and week-lasting curfews imposed on more than 30 towns in mostly Kurdish populated areas.[32]

The victory of the AKP in the snap elections in November 2015 and growing political instability have justified a deeper form of authoritarianism: oppositional voices were

28 The so-called Kurdish Opening was a policy package and part of the peace process to end the Turkish-Kurdish conflict. To read more on the policy package, see Kayhan Pusane 2014.

29 Baser et. al state that the long-desired peace process came to an end due to a lack of commitment from both the PKK and the government. Despite several meetings in Oslo between September 2008 and 2011, various ceasefires, and different parliamentary commissions no common ground of negotiation could be found (p. 280).

30 Partiya Karkerēn Kurdistanē (Kurdistan Workers' Party)

31 On the 10 October 2015, the largest of these attacks happened when a suicide bomber attacked a peace demonstration in Ankara leaving 107 people dead and over 500 injured.

32 A report by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) (2017) monitoring a period of thirteen months between July 2015 and August 2016 confirms "numerous cases of excessive use of force, killings, enforced disappearances, torture, destruction of housing and cultural heritage, incitement to hatred, prevention of access to emergency medical care, food, water and livelihoods, violence against women, and severe curtailment of the right to freedom of opinion and expression as well as political participation" (p. 2).

silenced while conservative, Islamic values were promoted (see Abbas, Zalta 2017: 16). The developments and the situation during the state of emergency (still effective as of today) following the coup-attempt in July 2016 confirmed a common concern: The resolution to change the constitution in favor of an executive presidency with President Erdoğan holding even more power, authority, and control, completed the picture of a new phase of authoritarianism in Turkey.

After the Turkish opposition had to accept their defeat in the November 2015 elections, many government critics felt powerless when witnessing the civil war like situation in the country's south-east. The launch of the AFP-petition campaign was welcomed by many civil society actors as one of the least thing to do in this situation of insecurity and instability. Nobody expected the consequences that would follow soon after its declaration. As Abbas and Zalta (2017) conclude, the reactions to the AFP petition reflect the "shift to political and cultural authoritarianism fused with majoritarian nationalism" (p. 15).

4.1.2 Academics for Peace: The Development of an International Solidarity Network Along a Petition Campaign

When in November 2012 Kurdish prisoners went on hunger strike to fight for their rights, a couple of critical academics came together to prepare a supporting statement under the name of "Academics for Peace". During the following years, the group organized several meetings and worked on publications and petitions. Their major concern was justice for the Kurdish population and generating knowledge about the current situation and other topics important to understanding the Kurdish issue. Further, they worked on a road map promoting the peace and reconciliation process at a societal level.[33]

In the beginning, the small initiative of AFP was a loosely linked network of critical academics in Turkey. Organized in working groups, they kept in contact through an mailing-list and met occasionally to exchange, network and prepare documents for public release. As outlined by Baser et al. (2017), there have been political campaigns and petitions led by academics in Turkey since the 1980s[34]. However, the AFP-petition proved "most impactful of all, in terms of scope and intentions" (ibid.: 283). The petition "We will not be party to this crime"[35] declared on 11

33 See https://barisicinakademisyenler.net/node/1 last checked on 22.09.2017.

34 The fight for academic freedom in Turkey is not a recent issue. For a detailed account of the challenges of academic freedom and the development of higher education laws in Turkey see Seggie and Gökbel 2015.

35 For full text see https://barisicinakademisyenler.net/node/63, last checked on 22.09.2017.

January 2016 was signed by 1128 academics from Turkey and abroad. The intellectuals called for an end to ongoing curfews and state violence in the Kurdish regions in the south-east of the country. [36]

The reactions to the petition were as unexpected as they were strong and alarming. President Erdoğan accused the signatories of treason, disloyalty to the state, and support of a terrorist group.[37] The President's outcry was echoed by other state institutions and the media. The council for higher education (YÖK[38]) called all universities with signatories among their staff to draw appropriate consequences, sack or suspend the persons in question and start administrative as well as disciplinary inquiries. In some smaller towns, the authorities detained signatory academics, raided their houses and opened criminal investigations. State prosecutors and individuals alike started to file cases against the petitioners. The accusations reached from "terrorism propaganda"[39] and "inciting people to hatred, violence and breaking the law" to "insulting Turkishness"[40].

The media played an important role in a nation-wide smear campaign criminalizing and stigmatizing the academics as a collective (see Baser et al. 2017: 286; Abbas, Zalta 2017:2; Fladers 2016). Prominent pro-government columnist Cem Kücük advocated for a "civilized death" for all signatory academics.[41] Other influential journalists called for life imprisonment. Disclosing full names and details about the petitioners, denouncing them as members of the PKK and covering intensively about the issues, pro-government media impacted the public reception of the petition. Adding to the institutional pressure, many scholars received threats (from students, neighbors and strangers alike) and had to leave their towns to protect their lives (see Fladers 2016).

Other reactions included the declaration of a counter-petition by the initiative "Academics for Turkey", pro-government academics declaring their full support for the state policy against the PKK (see Sazeri 2016). In general, the AFP petition is criticized for two reasons: First, for not denouncing the PKK of violating human

36 The text was initially produced in an open letter format. Additionally, the petition had a website in Turkish, English and Kurdish: https://barisicinakademisyenler.net. (now the website only provides Turkish and English, last checked on 08.10.2017). Prominent non-Turkish signatories include Noam Chomsky, Judith Butler, Slavoj Zizek, Immanuel Wallerstein, Etienne Balibar, and David Harvey.

37 For a summary of the speech of Turkey's President Erdogan on January 12, 2016, see http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/171012-erdogan-dan-akademisyenlere-ey-aydin-musveddeleri, last checked on 17.09.2017.

38 For a detailed account of the changing role of YÖK (Yükseköğretim Kurulu) under the AKP, see Abbas and Zalta 2017: 5-6.

39 Article 7 of the Anti-Terror-Law.

40 Articles 301 and 216 of the Turkish Penal Code.

41 For the original article see http://www.star.com.tr/yazar/medeni-olum-mekanizmalari-yazi-1082729/, last checked on 23.09.2017

rights, thus breaking with the Turkish official discourse and showing a one-sided picture of the activities (see Fladers 2016). Secondly, for using the word "massacre" for a state intervention (see Basar et al. 2017: 287).

While the massive smear campaign and heavy reactions to the petition put many signatories under social and political pressure[42], another wave of protest was triggered: more than 1000 academics added their names under a second issue of the letter

National and international solidarity campaigns generated an unpredicted visibility to the petition and the group of AFP. They received solidarity messages from all over the globe and inspired the formation of different vocational groups in Turkey like journalists, health workers, financial advisers, trade unionists, poets or musicians.[43] Their network to universities and research centers quickly expanded. This enabled the establishment of scholarships and other forms of funding for academics at risk who were seeking jobs abroad.[44] Solidarity groups arranged numerous conferences, podium discussions and public talks to raise awareness for the situation of academics in Turkey and give their voices a platform (see Şahin 2017).

As it became clear during my research, the heavy reactions to the AFP-petition not only led to a quick expansion of the initiative's network but also generated public discussions on freedom of speech in Turkey across national borders. Hence, I suggest to see the development after the declaration of the petition in the light of an internationalization process of the AFP movement. The internationalization of AFP was further promoted by academics leaving Turkey to settle and continue their political activity and academic career abroad.

Within a few months after the declaration of the petition, dozens had lost their jobs. Many of them saw their names put on a blacklist facing unemployment and travel bans. Their economic and social situation worsened with the consequences of the failed coup-attempt of 15 July 2016.[45] Within the framework of the state of emergency, more than 8000 academics lost their jobs through decrees. They are

42 Among many who were socially, economically, and psychologically affected by the consequences of the petition certainly the most tragic story is told by Mehmet Fatih Traş who committed suicide after he lost his job at Çukurova University (see Özkirimli 2017).

43 See https://internationalsolidarity4academic.tumblr.com, last checked on 23.09.2017.

44 Among the most prominent organizations supporting the academics are the Scholar Rescue Fund, the Scholars at Risk Network (SAR) and the Phillip Schwartz Initiative.

45 The government initiated a massive purge operation with the aim to "clean" Turkish administrative, education, and media institutions from supporters of the faith-based "Gülen Movement" made responsible for the coup-attempt. For a comprehensive overview and statistics of all people dismissed or detained and institutions shot down see turkeypurge.com, last checked on 08.10.2017.

accused of having aided or abetted the coup-attempt (see Turkey Purge). Out of them, 460 are signatories of the AFP-petition.[46]

While many court cases are pending, the core group of AFP is more and more dispersing around the globe. However, the signatories have not forgotten about their demands and try to find innovative and creative ways of staying connected and continuing their struggle to advocate their cause. New communities, like AFP-Germany, are formed, settle down, and explore opportunities of organizing in a new context. More than one hundred petitioners are currently working and living in Germany forming the most important community of AFP abroad.[47]

"Germany hosts the biggest number of academics. We are the most organized and crowded community outside Turkey […] We try to act as a hub." (F. Yıldız, 24.7.2017)

The mailing-list of AFP-Germany, as of today, already comprises 206 members[48]. After only one and a half years, the group registered two associations and forms an active part of the vivid civil society in Germany. The development of AFP-Germany as a branch of AFP is particularly interesting if we look at the range of activities and the composition of actors. Many of the group's activities to raise awareness and advocate their cause are directly connected to their counter-parts in Turkey[49]. However, more and more importance is attributed to activities going beyond national borders. Those include: building an international solidarity network, engaging in the dialog with German civil society and asking questions about freedom of speech and academic autonomy.

4.1.3 Transnational Political Practices

Since several decades social scientists have studied Turkish/Kurdish organizations in Germany (see a.o. Freeman, Ögelman 1998; Faist 2000; Mertens 2000; Ostergaard-Nielsen 2001, 2003a, 2003b). As Ostergaard-Nielsen (2001) points out, the landscape of those associations and organizations is very complex and involves a multitude of interests. By analyzing their transnational political practices, the author offers a comprehensive insight into the vast field of Turkish/Kurdish

46 See https://barisicinakademisyenler.net/node/314, last updated on 24.09.2017, last checked on 24.09.2017

47 See http://www.dw.com/en/turkeys-post-coup-brain-drain/a-36482586, last checked on 24.09.2017

48 See Schütze 11.08.2017

49 For example, through information channels (like mailing-lists, websites, social media), money transfers, invitations of people residing in Turkey to conferences in Germany, info-campaigns for colleagues in Turkey, etc.

associations, NGO's, and organizations in Germany (see ibid.: 267-269). She defines transnational political practices as:

"various forms of direct cross-border participation in the politics of their country of origin by both migrants and refugees (such as voting and other support to political parties, participating in debates in the press), as well as their indirect participation via the political institutions of the host country (or international organizations)" (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003a: 762).

In an empirical case study of Turks and Kurds in Germany, the author concludes that transnational political practices of Turkish or Kurdish organizations in Germany have not been much recognized in Turkish party politics and civil society. However, they form an important platform for the discussion of issues and the articulation of voices (like Kurdish or Alevi) suppressed within Turkey (see Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003b: 132). In fact, Germany has long been a venue for pro-government as well as oppositional forces in Turkey. Slowly, political authorities of both countries are starting to acknowledge the potential of their transnational political impact (see Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003b: 133).

AFP-Germany officially entered the arena of the transnational community discussed by Ostergard-Nielsen with the foundation of the association "Akademiker_innen für den Frieden e.V.".

"BAK-Almanya association will be the first association of BAK in fact. (…) In Turkey I don't think that it is possible to create an association because they can illegalize, suspend and close everything because of the state of emergency." (J. Arslan 16.08.2017)

To better pursue its transnational political efforts, AFP-Germany quickly adopted to local ways of institutionalizing. In that way, its members can rely on local mechanisms of collecting and transferring donations, acquire access to public facilities and institutional structures, get legal protection of their activities, and interact with German civil society organizations on eye-level. At the same time, through their activities in Germany, they maintain their status and social capital as an (academic) activist in Turkey (see Markley 2011).

Ostergaard-Nielsen (2003b) describes this process of being embedded in local structures and institutions while engaging in transnational political practices as "multi-level institutional channeling". She argues that

"transnational political networks (…) may not only adapt to their local situational environment but also be shaped as they appropriate global (Western liberal) norms of democracy and human rights via their interaction with national and international institutions" (Ostergaard-Nielson 2003b: 26).

With the recent development of different communities of signatory academics abroad and the institutionalization of AFP-Germany, we can consider "Academics for Peace" as a transnational political network. The dynamics of internationalization described in chapter 4.1.2 have thus resumed in a process of transnationalization. Most notably, the transnational scope of AFP-Germany is reflected by the petitioners' construction of personal and collective identities across national borders. In the following chapter, I will discuss how the signatory academics in Germany interactively negotiate different collective identities. I will then demonstrate how the transnational character of the AFP-Germany group has contributed to overcome several challenges to its interpretative framework.

4.2 Collective Identities and Narratives of Belonging

To understand the petitioners "cognitive, moral and emotional connection" (Polletta, Jaspers 2001: 285) to each other and the way they build a "network of active relationships" (Melucci 1995: 45), I want to look at narratives and percpetions of belonging.[50]

4.2.1 Becoming a Peace Academic

For most of the respondents, looking back, the moment of signing the petition was an important step of becoming part of AFP. Before the petition, they might neither have been aware of the group "Academics for Peace" nor have they been in contact with other signatory academics. As Çelik reports: „Vorher hatte ich mit den Academics for Peace gar nichts zu tun. Die Petition war sowas wie eine Change.org-Kampagne"[51] (D. Çelik 20.7.2017). However, as the petition was circulated through social media, professional and personal mailing-lists, people trusted the campaign and drew the connection to their own social circles.

As highlighted by many respondents, emotional connections, friendship and the imagined relation to a social or political group played an important role to believe in and support the petition. Some who normally would not identify as "academic

50 The returning patterns of narratives and imaginations of belongings of the interviewees have been analyzed through a coding scheme (see Codebook, 1. Identification).

51 Two of the ten interviews have been conducted in German as the respondents were fluent and comfortable talking German. In order to preserve their authenticity, I refrain from translating them.

activist" perceived the petition as something meaningful (see Arslan). Others referred to those circulating the petition as a „natural community" with which they were in touch through previous common political activities (e.g. in the context of the labor union, the chamber of engineers and architects or the socialist movement). Reading the names of friends and colleagues under the petition, many respondents felt reassured and vindicated. The community of critical academics in many places remains quite small as one dismissed assistant professor from Ankara University remarks: "We know each other. In Ankara there is a much more closed community. I almost know every person who signed the petition from Ankara." (Kaya 16.7.2017).

The statements mentioned above suggest that the petition was not particularly well circulated and rather remained in a small bubble of like-minded people. However, a distinguishing element of the AFP-petition is said to be its cross-sectionality, cutting along societal, economic, and political divisions (see Fladers 2016).

„The people came together in this network because they are asking for peace. (…) [T]hey don't share the same political point of view or any common background. They might be Kurdish, Turkish, Armenian, Alevi or Sunni or women or LGBT, (…). But this petition gave the chance for people to become someone asking for freedom and fighting for a peaceful solution for the most important problem maybe in Turkey." (B. Kaya 16.7.2017)

As stated by Fladers (2016), it was one of the first times that such a diverse group joined forces to challenge the Turkish government. Still, incidents like the situation during the press release reported by Öztürk, lead to the assumption that the group visible in public was not representing this diversity.

"But you could see that we, the signatories were so kind of "Turkish" that in the room, with 30 people who barely knew each other, there was nobody who spoke Kurdish" (G. Öztürk 26.7.2017).

The question of representation and visibility is a highly sensitive one, especially for the group living in Germany. Yılmaz critically comments on the German media's attention to the community of AFP-Germany:

"Yes, we bring visibility to the movement. But we also show a more urbanite, middle-class Turkish face to this story. There are so many layers in it." (A. Yılmaz 7.7.2017).[52]

Because of the challenges mentioned above. internal solidarity among the different groups of people was even more crucial for the assertion of the AFP movement. The fierce attack on the academics fostered the feeling of compassion with people who would not have stood side by side for other political topics. "Somehow it brought us together, all that stuff." (A. Yılmaz 7.7.2017). When Erdoğan denied the signatories their right to act and speak as academics, their bond and identification with "Academics for Peace" was reinforced.[53] Eventually, for the members of AFP-Germany, the solidarity bond was recreated by the (forced) decision to migrate and the challenges of settling in the new context.[54] Suddenly, points of reference about the collective identities of AFP were mixed again. People who had strong affiliations with local AFP branches (in their faculties and universities, cities, professional networks) left their "natural community" behind when they migrated to Germany.

"It cannot replace the Cebeci-community55. (…) I know the people since 15 years. I have been so familiar with everything. (…) Here we are building a different kind of community. With our different backgrounds, our common thing is not sharing the same place. It is much more than we have signed this petition, that we are supporting peace, freedom and the same academic principles. (…) In Cebeci it was more based on friendship rather than political engagement." (B. Kaya 16.07.2017)

Their reformation as a group of "Exile-Academics" in the German context arguably changed the petitioner's identification and relation to the former collectivity of AFP. This process of renegotiating collective identities is of particular interest of this study and will help to determine the character of AFP-Germany as a social movement organization.

4.2.2 Collective Action

It is a common feature of social movements that involvement and commitment differ across actors. Engaging in collective action is a basic element in the process of creating collective identities (see Snow 2008).

52 The conflicts about framing and representing the movement of AFP or AFP-Germany will be discussed in Chapter 4.3.

53 Just as Melucci (1995) has argued, solidarity enables individuals to affirm themselves as subjects to their actions and therefore forms part of the process of creating collective identities (p. 48-49).

54 See Section 4.2.3 AFP-Germany: A Community of Destiny?

55 Cebeci is the name of the campus of Ankara University with political sciences, law and other faculties.

"The only common thing among us is the petition." (J. Arslan 16.08.2017).

For most academics, signing the petition was their first collective activity with AFP. The petition (and its aftermath) assembled academics from many different backgrounds and created some sort of common narrative of belonging. Besides this, there exist many different perceptions of what makes up a real "Peace Academic", a term frequently used by the interviewees. Those perceptions function as points of reference for collective identities. They are incited by the involvement of the individual in collective action such as being part of a working group or a mailing-list, participating in a demonstration, preparing press statements, appearing in the media, or contributing to the solidarity fund for dismissed Peace Academics in Turkey (see H. Aydın).

The more academics were dismissed, the more the activities of AFP members became diversified and the group began to change its structure.[56] They developed more localized activities, such as "solidarity academies"[57] where dismissed academics teach for free and "people without campus"-initiatives[58] to demonstrate that academic ideals and intellectual activities don't need institutionalization. Some Peace Academics started a band performing "Concerts for Peace"[59] while others opened a cultural center providing a platform for "Dialogue for Peace"[60]. The Peace Academics make use of diverse tools for self-organizing and communication e.g. social media, crowd-funding campaigns[61] or alternative media.

The diversification of the collective action of AFP has contributed to the density of the informal network, promoted it's decentralized non-hierarchical organizational structure as well as lowered entrance barriers and increased the movement's outreach to broader audiences (see Diani 2003). However, this research can't make any statement about the question how collective identities and perceptions of belonging are constructed within in the broader network of AFP. This would be the task of future research.

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56 Polletta and Jasper (2001) have argued that movements are transformed along processes of identity creation. Collective action and the narrations about it are an important part of this negotiation process, hence, have an impact on the development of a social movement.

57 https://yersizseyler.wordpress.com/2017/05/20/kampussuzler-ve-dayanisma-akademileri/ see also https://www.youtube.com/results?q=%23WebizAkademi last checked on 27.09.2017.

58 https://www.facebook.com/Kampussuzler/ last checked on 27.09.2017.

59 https://www.facebook.com/BarisaEzgiler/ last checked on 27.09.2017.

60 https://www.facebook.com/kulturhanemersin/ See also http://www.diken.com.tr/mersinde-khkyla-ihrac-edilen-uc-akademisyen-bir-araya-geldi-kulturhane/ last checked on 27.09.2017 .

61 Kültürhane in Mersin was founded through an indigogo campaign: https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/help-us-build-our-house-of-culture-and-hope-cafe#/ last checked on 27.09.2017.

At the same time as the network of AFP branched out in Turkey on a local level, it expanded internationally. Working groups and mailing-lists were first shifted to the international stage, then reformed in the new context (see AFP-Germany, AFP-France, AFP-UK, etc.). Consequently, the newly formed communities like AFP-Germany developed their own structures, strategies, and content according to the new context. Yet, they always linked their collective action frames to the movement in Turkey.

As members of AFP-Germany the interviewees in this study imagined their belonging through collective action. "I try to attend as many meetings as possible and I'm part of the Academic Boycott Committee." (E. Şahin 20.07.2017). Organized through working routines they adopted from Turkey, the group wants to be perceived active. "I'm trying to be as useful as possible." (F. Yıldız 24.07.2017). Their activities include occasional meetings in the general group and the working groups (often referred to as "committees"), reading and writing in corresponding emailing-groups, organizing conferences, podium discussions, and demonstrations. On top of that, representational activities in interaction with the German civil society, media, political parties, etc. become increasingly important, "weil es uns die Chance gibt, die Sache auch im Ausland zu vertreten" (D. Çelik 20.07.2017). Networking is considered one of the core tasks of AFP-Germany as shown by the establishment of a public-relations working group (see Çelik), a solidarity-gathering in the Berlin Cem Evi[62] on 8 September 2017 or the foundation of the association "Akademiker_innen für den Frieden e.V.".

"Maybe we can do something here what we can't do in Turkey. Maybe some financial opportunities for the friends in Turkey whose passports are canceled. Some international networks that can be helpful for them as well. We tried to organize here as a branch of AFP." (J. Arslan 16.8.2017)

In the following section I will discuss challenges AFP-Germany members are facing while engaging in collective action and fulfilling the unwritten rules of solidarity and commitment[63].

4.2.3 AFP-Germany: A Community of Destiny?

"I didn't decide to be a member of this association. I just became it because I signed this petition (...) It is nothing you join on purpose and with your desire and

62 Cem Evi, (tr: house of gathering) is the place for religious and cultural practices of the Alevi community.

63 See the discussion of solidarity and commitment in Chapter 2.3 (Hunt, Benford 2004; Melucci 1995).

decision. (…) However, you can't leave it. Because it created another network you need to be part of. There is the saying: you cannot sell it, you cannot throw it away and you can't buy it either [alsan alınmaz satsan satılmaz]. This is somehow an organic connection and relation." (C. Demir 18.07.2017)

Signing the AFP-petition turned out to be a life-changing act for many academics. They were dismissed from secure positions, charged with various crimes, interrogated, even taken into pre-trial detention. Some were subjects of media stories and talk shows for weeks, dealing with intense smear campaigns at their work places and in public. Moving to Germany seemed like a clever way to affirm the validity of the petition while not risking serious consequences for personal life and career. All but one of the interviewees had previous experiences with academia outside Turkey. They could rely on personal contacts to find jobs and founding opportunities in Germany, or bypass travel bans and visa regulations. Most of them arrived between July and October 2016, leaving Turkey soon after the coup-attempt. Only one respondent had prepared her stay before the purges began.

The network of dismissed academics arriving in Germany quickly grew and provided crucial assistance with the hardships the new-comers were facing: settling in a new context, reestablishing their professional work while trying to engage in political activities of the AFP community they had just left behind. However, it is important to mention that social and cultural resources of the interviewees vary a lot. While some have lived in Germany before, others hardly had any contacts and felt alienated from what was going on.

Demir, who was among the first petitioners starting her job in Germany, felt alone and alienated from the movement during the first months. Later, she took a broker position and built up a strong social network of academics and other intellectuals (like artists and journalists) from Turkey. After one year, she tells: "[W]e have a strong network and community you can ask for any help. Even for the kids. It is nice to be crowed within the network." (C. Demir 18.07.2017).

The newly emerging network of AFP-Germany is particularly helpful to those who already engaged in a lot of collective action in Turkey (e.g. being part of legal and organizational working groups, having taken responsibility reading the press statement or representing the initiative in the media). Their internal network is dense and they can rely on its solidarity at any time.

"Since I was very much involved in Turkey due to my activities with BAK-Hukuk64, I knew quite a lot of them. (…) It was very important to have those people here. It is still." (G. Öztürk 26.7.2017)

Others didn't have access or didn't want to rely on the AFP-network to organize their lives in Germany. "I got in contact with some people from BAK in general. But either they didn't have time or they really didn't know anyone in Germany" (H. Aydın 13.08.2017). The people forming the growing network of AFP-Germany were as diverse as their needs (in terms of financial and legal situations, experiences and achievements in academia, involvement in political activities, family status, etc.). However, they all underline the importance of internal solidarity that enriches and enables the ties within this diverse group of actors. Therefore, I argue, the basis for negotiating collective identities is a community of destiny, a network of active relationships linked by solidarity and commitment (see Melucci 1995).

4.2.4 Motivation to Act

As it became clear in the previous sections, the motivation for signing the petition is mostly derived from the feeling of belonging to a particular group of people for whom it was either ethically, professionally or socially important to support AFP. Also, in the light of the growing state repression against oppositional voices, the petition was a symbol of resistance (see Arslan). The statements about the motivation to sign overlaps with the motivation to be politically active as a person in general. Respondents with a biographical background as part of an ethnical or religious minority in Turkey reported being politicized from a very young age onwards (see Arslan, Kaya). Others were part of trade unions or professional networks discussing and engaging in politics on an academic level (see Demir, Yıldız, Öztürk, Schütze). Some remarked that the Gezi protests in 2013 were a crucial experience of political activism and an opportunity to connect with activist groups of their interests (see Aydın, Çelik).

It was important to the respondents to underline in which way they are personally connected to the Kurdish struggle (through ethnical/biographical background, emotional attachment, long-term involvement in political groups, academic work, etc.).[65] Thereby, they could make a claim of ownership to the demands of the petition and legitimate their advocacy for the Kurds in south-eastern Turkey.

64 BAK-Hukuk is the working group for legal issues of AFP comprising many experienced lawyers offering e.g. free consultations and legal assistance.

65 See Codebook „1.8 Identification: Kurdish/Alevi"

Moreover, receiving positive resonance by the Kurdish population accepting the solidarity of the academics was an important symbol:

"Many people who for a long time stayed without electricity, (…) access to the news or anything, they (…) knew about Academics for Peace (…). They knew what we did. And that was our purpose that they know that we are not accomplices [to the state]." (G. Öztürk 26.7.2017).

The construction of AFP as an initiative in the Kurdish peace process further promoted the narrative of belonging to the effective oppositional actors in Turkey. For those academics who worked for state universities, this distinction was particularly meaningful as it demonstrated that there is a lot of potential for dissent and critique from within the state apparatus (see Flanders 2016).

"You can work about Kurdish people but you are normally cut about the reality. You are not really involved in it. With this statement, the petition, we built a link with Turkey's populations. And it's a real link. And that's why we are punished." (G. Öztürk 26.7.2017).

The image of a successful oppositional movement is recreated by the positive resonance of the Turkish/Kurdish civil society groups in Germany. "After the petition, they respect us. We transformed into an opposition group, one of the efficient opposition groups against Erdoğan." (J. Arslan 16.08.2017).

Another returning narrative concerns the responsibility to act as an academic, thus narrations about claiming the platform of AFP.[66] All respondents mentioned that they would sign the petition over and over again, especially considering its aftermath and impact. Arslan, for example, says that the fact that academics raised their voices about the massacres in Turkey's south-east made the petition meaningful. Taking political action about issues they were conducting research on was considered essential by scholars working in the field of social and political sciences (70% of the sample). Yet, belonging to a politicized university, faculty (like Istanbul University or Ankara University) or trade union, many academics considered it part of their academic identity to participate in AFP activities. Hence, the signatories' motivation to act is twofold. Solidarity towards the Kurdish population (the cause of the movement) and commitment to promoting a democratic and equal society as a "natural" responsibility of any academic

66 See Codebook 1.2 „Identification: Academic"

(platform of the movement) are constructed as basic elements of collective identity of AFP. Those narratives supported the construction of AFP as a movement of critical academics.

4.2.5 Status as Social Capital

Among the heterogenous set of actors, there exist many different imaginations about collective identities that are part of AFP. Along markers of status[67] (e.g. pioneer, professionalism, cosmopolitan) people construct their belonging to a group while at the same time excluding others from becoming part of this group. This process of negotiating different collective identities became especially dynamic when recreating AFP-Germany in a new socio-political context and geographical setting. To reclaim space and agency within the movement, the actors had to secure their positions once again.

Assessing the interviews, I could detect different markers of status. Notably, "being a pioneer" is a recurring pattern among the answers highlighting the respondent's contributions to the development of the movement[68]. "It also served as a precedence for other Turkish people that were escaping their prosecution in Turkey" (E. Şahin 20.07.2017). By claiming to be a pioneer, the actors can distinguish from late-comers or people who are "much more individualistic (…), don't come to the meetings [and] just focus on their career in Germany" (J. Arslan 16.08.2017).

Another marker is represented by the narrative of "being in exile".[69] Perceiving oneself as "Exile-Academic" can be seen as a strategy of coping with the dilemma of legitimizing one's stay in Germany while not losing the connection and agency to the things going on in Turkey.

"[M]y point was that I felt responsible for what was going on in my country and that's why I lost my job. And then it's not possible that just after the dismissal I lose the feeling of responsibility so that I stay in Germany and so on. I still feel responsible to what's going on there. And like many other peace academics the first thing what I do in the morning is to see what's going on in Turkey." (G. Öztürk 26.07.2017)

67 Inspired by Goffman's work on the presentation of self (1990), I understand "markers of status" as qualities of a person (like social, cultural or economic resources) that are articulated when an individual performs a role in the front-stage, in other words, when interacting with other people.

68 See Codebook 1.6 „Identification: Pioneer"

69 See Codebook 1.9 „Identification: Exile"

By their fellows in Turkey, AFP-Germany members are often seen as having escaped the country and having left behind their colleagues. At the same time, by staying in Germany, the AFP members become more and more alienated from the situation in Turkey. The marker "being in exile" helps to frame one's activities in Germany as part of the broader struggle. Yet, the term also differentiates between those who had the cultural and social resources to resettle in Germany and those who stayed in Turkey. Therefore, being an "Exile-Academic" implies (re)constructing a strong transnational social network (through frequent travels, invitations to participate e.g. in conferences, production of knowledge, sending remittances e.g. via the solidarity fund, providing access to resources, contacts, etc.) and representative tasks (in the media, academia, prospective partner organization, etc.).[70]

Connected to "Exile-Academic", another marker of status mentioned by several interviewees is "being a cosmopolitan". It refers to the ability to cope with changing socio-cultural contexts (e.g. the situation of being in exile). Social and cultural capital of the cosmopolitan are essential to his/her mobility, living the principle of "Everywhere is my country." (E. Şahin 20.07.2017). At the same time, being cosmopolitan and mobile has been a distinguishing feature of professional academics since a long time. The marker helps to reassert one's identity as a researcher and reclaim belonging to the academic world.

A common concern among the respondents was being recognized as an academic in the German higher education system. Some felt degraded and excluded while being given scholarships and short-term fellowships. Many interviewees were challenged by the sudden need to ask for help, to reorient in a new working environment and to reestablish one's professional network. For some, however, moving to Germany was empowering and supported their career and future path in academia. Additionally, their involvement with AFP opened many doors to the German political and civil society landscape including financial and ideal support. Thereby, "Academics for Peace" transformed into a label or brand, incorporating various discourses that are problematized by the actors themselves (see Chapter 4.3.2).

The functioning of "markers of status" illustrates how different personal and collective identities are negotiated among individuals and that demarcation, or boundary work, plays an important role in this process. Accordingly, during the

70 In migration studies, „status" is often equated with social capital. The constant maintenance of a person's status in different communities and geographies is the security for the migrant's opportunity to return (see Markley 2011).

interviews I could observe diverse strategies of demarcating "Us" from "Them" and several imaginations of the "Other"[71]: distinguishing between "politically active academics" and "just academics" (see Arslan), purged Gülen-supporters and purged Peace Academics (see Demir), "genuine" signatories and petition-supporters (see Schütze) or between PhD candidates and established scholars (see Aydın).

Another demarcation strategy can be found in the working routines AFP-Germany members adopted from their working groups in Turkey. For example, they use Turkish as a common language and a particular style of organizing or holding meetings. In that way, it became too difficult for non-Turkish speaking members to actively participate in the group. Initially, several German academics who signed and supported the petition were organized in a solidarity-network called GIT (Groupe Internationale de Travail) and later renamed BNAR (Berlin Network for Academics at Risk in Turkey and Beyond). As a result of the changing working routines, many of the Turkey-affiliated scholars dropped out of the AFP-Germany group (see Schütze).

There is a similarly ambivalent relationship between AFP-Germany and the local leftist Turkish/Kurdish associations that emerged in Germany after the Military Coup in Turkey in 1980.

"They are nice and we are very grateful to them but still we have some lack of communication (…) They are here since 30 years and their connection with Turkey is very different than ours. I think we are much more up to date and into the emotional status, historical clashes. But for them, from the distance, things became difficult to grasp. (…) And some have frozen their mind." (F. Yıldız 24.07.2017).

On the one hand, they mutually help each other reaffirming their identity as Turkish/Kurdish opposition groups in Germany (see Arslan). On the other hand, they sharply distinguish between those who (legitimately) speak about the "real" Turkey and those who are doing politics for a country they don't know anymore.

"They have completely different social dynamics and are talking about a Turkey that doesn't exist anymore. When we are talking to them the first thing we feel is sadness and then we are afraid that we will become like them." (G. Öztürk 26.7.2017).

71 See Codebook 1.5 „Identification: Demarcation"

Flesher Fominaya (2010) has discussed how boundary work may cause inner movement fragmentation and conflict but simultaneously may reconstruct and affirm collective identities. In the case of this study, boundary work, along with inner-group solidarity and commitment shows an integral part of the narratives and perceptions of belonging to the community of AFP-Germany. This chapter has assessed how individuals use different strategies to negotiate collective identities. The (re)production of status (through markers of status) has proved to be a common strategy among the interviewees to claim their space within the (imagined) community and justify their position within the movement. For future case studies, the concept of markers of status seems to be a promising approach to studying the process of creating collective identities within a social movement. In this research however, resources were too limited to pursue this insightful path of analysis.

4.3 Challenges of Framing and Representing the Common Cause

As discussed above, the defamation and persecution of academics marked a turning point in the development of AFP. What followed was not only an internationalization of the issue (see 4.1.2) but also a shift of the discourse.[72] This dynamic can be considered part of a broader framing contest. Until today, those framing processes have a major impact on the process of negotiating different collective identities of the community of AFP in Germany.

4.3.1 Framing Contest

The stigmatization campaign by President Erdoğan, the Turkish media and public labeled the petitioners as traitors and sympathizers of terrorism. During the waves of purges following the attempted coup in July 2016, they were put in line with the supporters of the "Gülen Movement": anti-democratic forces undermining the Turkish sovereignty and posing a threat to the state. As Baser et al. (2017) comprehensively depict, by criminalizing critical thought in general, and the signatory academics in particular, the Turkish government deployed a (long-established) discourse of counterterrorism. President Erdoğan could use AFP to legitimize the rapidly growing authoritarianism in the country.

Secondly, the aggressive suppression of academic freedom was met by an international outcry and the formation of numerous solidarity initiatives. Academics,

72 There is a large scope for media discourses to be examined in the context of framing processes. However, limited resources and the time frame of this research will not allow for a proper media analysis. The claims made in this chapter rely mostly on data derived from the assessment of the interviews, secondary academic literature, and media reports.

journalists, artists, and other intellectuals from around the globe joined the debate about freedom of speech and academic autonomy[73]. Demanding to grant fundamental rights to the academics, it was problematic that international solidarity campaigns often forgot to talk about the human rights abuses in the Kurdish region (see Baser et al. 2017: 289). Hence, although the debate on the petition brought a lot of international recognition to the AFP initiative, it distorted its original message and prioritized the destiny of the signatory academics.

The process of (counter)framing AFP as a movement for freedom of speech had a long-lasting impact on its reception in the international arena. Establishing solidarity funds, scholarships, fellow positions and inviting AFP members to conferences, solidarity events or podium discussions cast much light on the actors of the movement. Yet, it sidelined its subjects. The "freedom-of-speech-frame" has opened many possibilities for engaging in academic work outside of Turkey while creating new strategies of resistance and staying involved in AFP activities. The movement received several prices like the Aachen peace price[74], the MESA Academic Freedom Award[75], the Voltaire Price of University of Potsdam[76].

Framing the Peace Academics as victims of an authoritarian regime legitimizes to raise the discussion on another level. Since mutual dependencies between Turkey and the EU were reinforced during the 2015 "refugee crisis" (see Gedikkaya Bal 2016), European media is polarizing opinions on the recent development of Turkey under the rule of AKP[77]. The European discussion about the AFP petition was framed in the light of the current pro-European and anti-Erdoğan discourse. It further supported the construction of a "Democratic European identity" against a "Barbarian Turkish Other"[78]. In this light, European media coverage concentrated mostly on the victimization-framing of the purged Peace Academics (see Şahin) telling tales of woe (see Schütze) and portraying those who were welcomed and "freed" by their European (German) friends and supporters.

73 For a collection of international solidarity campaigns see https://internationalsolidarity4academic.tumblr.com last checked on 02.10.2017

74 See http://www.dw.com/en/turkish-academics-win-aachen-peace-prize/a-19518889 last checked on 30.09.2017.

75 See http://mesana.org/awards/16-CAF-award.html last checked on 30.09.2017.

76 See https://www.uni-potsdam.de/voltaire-preis/nachrichten-veranstaltungen/medieninformationen/detail-list/article/2017-06-12-universitaet-potsdam-vergibt-erstmals-voltaire-preis-tuerkische-politologin-dr-hilal-alk.html last checked on 30.09.2017.

77 For more information on the development of EU-Turkey relations see Kösebalaban 2007.

78 In a seminar paper titled "From Satire to an Affair of State: Political Humor at the Nexus of Inclusion and Exclusion", I studied the Othering-discourse applied by EU media towards Turkey.

"We fit a discourse of human rights, democratic rights and all that package... Every time I'm asked to talk about the oppression in Turkey, I feel a bit strange. (…) So, our role here is not just to make this transnational movement visible but also give Germany and the other countries credibility about their democracy." (A.Yılmaz 07.07.2017)

This statement illustrates how the "freedom of speech"-frame is created by the European media and public[79] and reproduced through AFP-Germany members. Relying on the newly-established solidarity network for academics at risk in Germany (and other countries) they get the chance to represent the movement on platforms and through channels controlled by this particular framing. This frame extension challenged the activists' original framing of their role advocating for the peace movement in Turkey. They were put in the same category as the subjects of their petition: victims of Erdoğan's power game.

As the academics also depend on financial and ideal support, they have to find strategies to justify and make sense of this new framing. My interviewees often tried to underline their connection with the Kurdish people as active agents struggling against the consequences of growing authoritarianism in Turkey.

Another strategy Öztürk points out, extends the frame of the movement to its edges so that any group critical to neo-liberalism can rely to it:

"*There is the risk that AFP is perceived as a unique example of resistance but it is not unique. We are struggling for problems of e.g. academics in Germany as well. AKP is not only something about Turkey. They represent global tendencies of growing authoritarianism and the effects of neo-liberalism.*" (G. Öztürk 26.07.2017)

4.3.2 Representation

The petitioners are aware of their representative power. "We are a symbol and we know that. But the symbol is not only about academia but about everything going on in Turkey." (F. Yıldız 24.07.2017). In Germany (and probably in other countries as well) "Academics for Peace" has advanced to some sort of label or brand. It regulates the access to scholarships and academic positions, the recognition of expertise on certain topics, and the interaction with different actors of civil society, political parties and state institutions (see Demir). The negotiation process of framing the collective identity of AFP-Germany became an important reference

79 See Codebook „Resonance: International/German public"

point to the movement's diverse audiences (see Diani 2003). The activists now, have to balance the freedom-of-speech-framing against the peace-movement-framing.

"If there is Academics for Peace, don't put the emphasis on Academics but put it on Peace." (E. Şahin 20.07.2017).

Although all my interview partners highlighted the priority of the peace message, most of their narrations concentrated on the global framing on questions of freedom of speech and academic autonomy.[80] The range of activities of the group supports this impression. Many respondents decided to engage in more localized activities rather than concentrating on mailing-lists that organize activities in Turkey. Thereby, they hope to increase the impact and visibility of their contributions for AFP. Relying on their knowledge and experiences from Turkey, the scholars want to develop alternative approaches to education, research, and academia, and engage into a critical dialogue with German academia (see Kaya).

Most notably, an academy of commons, "OFF university", has been launched this summer with an international online-conference[81]. Next to the association "Organisation für den Frieden e.V." (OFF) another association, representing the community of AFP in Germany, has been officially registered: "Akademiker_innen für den Frieden e.V." After barely one year of settling in Germany, the activists hooked up with the local structures and started be an active agent of public discourse and German civil society.

By now, they are not anymore depending on framing their cause according to sponsors and funding agencies but can develop their own agenda more autonomously. However, framing processes are always contested. It is still challenging to negotiate an accurate framing for AFP-Germany and its relation to the general AFP movement. The question of agency and who speaks in the name of whom is regularly discussed among the activists. "In the practical things we are a unity but when it comes to political activities we may just appear as various groups" (F. Yıldız 24.07.2017).

AFP wants to appear as a basic-democratic organization with no hierarchies. As nobody is excluded from representing the group, no one can claim to represent the

80 See Codebook „Framing: Freedom Movement" and „Framing: Peace Movement"

81 See http://www.off-university.de last checked on 02.10.2017. See also Interview with C. Demir.

opinion of all members. In practice, hierarchies and power dynamics are very much present within the movement, as shown through the description of practices of boundary-work (see Chapter 4.2.5).

The interviewees were aware of their privileged and powerful position as "Exil-Academics" and symbols of the movement. This sense of responsibility and solidarity towards those in less privileged positions[82] recreates a framing or set of meanings that inspires commitment and legitimates further activities of AFP-Germany. The "symbol-framing" further nourishes narratives and perceptions of belonging and intensifies the bond of active relationships in the network of AFP-Germany.

4.3.3 Reclaiming the Floor and Future Opportunities

I have argued that the counterframing strategy by the Turkish government and media triggered two reframing processes: It incited another wave of protest, a form of frame amplification, adding 1000 signatures, and gave rise to countless solidarity campaigns increasing awareness for the human rights abuses against the Kurdish population. Secondly, facilitated by the internationalization of the AFP movement, the initial framing of the movement's cause could be shifted to another, much broader framing: the fight for the right to freedom of speech. The resonance in the European media, civil society and official institutions legitimized this frame extension while reframing the role of the AFP-Germany members (as victims of Erdoğan's regime).

Those counterframings challenged the movement's interpretative framework and provoked a complex reframing process on the side of the academics. On the one hand, they were asking for international visibility and solidarity, thus accepted the freedom-of-speech-frame. Yet, on the other hand, they had to maintain ownership and control of their message, promoting the peace-movement-frame.

As I have demonstrated above, what seemed like conflicting framings distorting the collective identity of AFP-Germany, turned into an opportunity to extend the interpretative framework of the movement. The reframing process adopted the new socio-political and cultural context in Germany and rendered the character of the movement more inclusionary and long-term oriented. I therefore argue that in the

82 While some signatory academics get the chance to represent AFP e.g. at a conference of SAR (Scholars at Risk) in Canada or speak about the petition in international media outlets like Deutsche Welle, others are trapped in little towns in Turkey. Facing travel bans, legal persecution, and social pressure they are the ones with less social and cultural capital, with low chances to find positions abroad, weak financial resources, etc. This group is underrepresented in the public perception of AFP.

case of the development of AFP-Germany, the framing contest was not threating the movement's integrity (see Snow et al. 1986: 478) but created an opportunity to renegotiate collective identities of the community instead.

Framing contests can stimulate the constructive and never-ending process of creating collective identities of a social movement. Projects such as the OFF-university, the solidarity-gathering in the Cem Evi in Berlin or the foundation of the association "Akademiker_innen für den Frieden e.V." demonstrate how the Peace Academics claim space in the German civil society. They reappropriate the means for defining their own collective action frames and for constituting the collective identities of the movement.

„You have to show your perspective. Maybe you have to revise all your values again, (…) think about Turkey differently. We feel a bit uprooted. We are in a different context. On the one hand (…) it gives you the chance to put some distance to Turkey. But it's difficult on the other hand, because you lose something, your senses about the country, about the people. (…) We don't know which directions will be included in our stories. If we can really built (…) a community maintaining strong links with our country and the people we are surrounded with. Not only the Turkish people living here, but German students and people that are interested in what we are doing." (B. Kaya 16.07.2017)

5. Conclusion

The objective of this thesis was to analyze how processes of negotiating collective identities and framing have contributed to the establishment of Academics for Peace and its development into a transnational social movement. The study was based on social movement theory and adopted a processual approach to the construction of collective identity as well as the framing approach as its theoretical concepts. The empirical question was assessed through a qualitative research design: a combination of empirically grounded concepts and concepts derived from primary data through inductive category development. Taking an actor-centered perspective, I used semi-structured narrative interviews to collect data about individual narratives and perceptions of belonging to the community and AFP-Germany. To set the research in a socio-political context and trace back the chain of events, the thesis refers to secondary literature taken from academic and media reports.

One argument central to this thesis claims that Academics for Peace acts as a transnational social movement through the interplay of three elements: collective

action; perceptions and constructions of different (sometimes overlapping or contradicting) collective identities; and as the establishment of an (informal and formal) transnational political network. The analysis revealed that the development of AFP is based on the interactive process of negotiating meaning and collective identities on many different levels of the community. The case of AFP-Germany supports the claim that conflict is a key driver in creating narratives and perceptions of belonging to a community. Conflicting framings of the movement's common cause, the (political) exploitation from different sides as well as internal disputes over representation and advocacy have shaped the character of the community.

Conflicts incite turning points that open opportunities to renegotiate something taken for granted. They can contribute to development, mutual understanding, and identification. During a conflict, status, priorities, and hierarchies are mixed and, under new conditions and settings, can be recreated in a different context. The case of AFP-Germany has demonstrated how a multifold framing contest can be used constructively to develop the scope of the transnational movement, reinforce its creation of collective identities and enlarge its transnational political network. It is not by chance that the first official association of AFP was founded in Germany. As demonstrated in this thesis, the favorable structural conditions (and other factors) not only encouraged a large number of petitioners to migrate to Germany but also enabled their quick establishment as recognized actors in the German civil society. Therefore, I argue, AFP-Germany plays a crucial role in the development of AFP as a transnational social movement and its visibility on an international stage.

The development of AFP into a transnational social movement should not be considered a linear process but rather a roller-coaster ride with many turning points. The foundation of the association "Akademiker_innen für den Frieden e.V." and other activities of AFP-Germany are only a few examples for an international development that is being enacted in many different places and diverse formats. This thesis cannot claim to have defined the nature of the movement "Academics for Peace". It has, rather, laid the basis for exploring how signatories and supporters of the AFP under differing conditions (according to their location, social/financial/political status, integration in organizational or institutional structures, etc.) enact their imagination of belonging to the movement. I argue that, no matter when and why people refer to AFP, they are inevitably part of the process of constructing the collective identities of the movement.

As I have demonstrated, internal and external dynamics of meaning construction and framing processes have rendered "Academics for Peace" into a symbol and brand for many different qualities. Finding a balance between advocating for the Kurdish peace process in Turkey and speaking in the name of academic freedom at international conferences is one of the most challenging tasks to the individual actors of AFP. However, this conflict may further contribute to a constructive development and strengthen the integrity of the community.

This research has tried to provide a snapshot of the community of AFP-Germany at a very particular point of its development: the foundation phase of its first registered association, a formal step to becoming an actor of German civil society. Studying a social group always means limiting the validity of the research's time frame. I conducted my research between July and August 2017. My observations and findings are therefore not representative of any larger development of the community or AFP as a transnational social movement. They help, rather, to identify tendencies and dynamics in processes of constructing meaning. Moreover, doing narrative interviews with ten group-members limited the perspective on the general group dynamics. People who have left the community or were not able to join are not represented in the sample. To make more representative statements on the character of the community it would be necessary to conduct interviews with people from different levels of involvement.

Despite the shortcomings of the research method, the individual accounts of the signatory academics analyzed in this thesis provided an entrance point from which to study the formation of a new actor in the scene of Kurdish/Turkish migrant political organizations in Germany. I could further demonstrate, how a transnational social movement like AFP gains momentum as authoritarianism increases. Yet, the focus of this research laid on how collective identities and framing processes are constantly contested and negotiated among actors and audiences. This perspective may contribute to understanding current protest movements against the global rise of authoritarian regimes and populist parties. Advocating for peace, justice and democracy, AFP has not only received overwhelmingly aggressive reactions by its opponents but also has been accepted by the global network of like-minded people fighting for human rights and democracy.

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Appendix

This table shows the coding scheme developed for this research. It shows six codes, the corresponding subcodes and their absolute frequency.

1 Identification	151	**3 Resonance**	67
1.1 AFP Germany	33	3.1 Media	6
1.2 Academician	29	3.2 Turkish academia	4
1.3 AFP All	23	3.3 by Turkey	8
1.4 Petition	14	3.4 Political Network	17
1.5 Demarcation	12	3.5 Campaign Supporters	6
1.6 Pioneer	13	3.6 International/German public	12
1.7 Germany	12	3.7 International/German Academia	11
1.8 Kurdish/Alevi	8	3.8 Turkish Government	5
1.9 Exile	10	**4 Framing**	43
1.10 Turkey	7	4.1 Freedom Movement	27
1.11 Cosmopolitan	5	4.2 Peace Movement	16
1.12 Motivation to Migrate	4	**5 Representation**	38
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